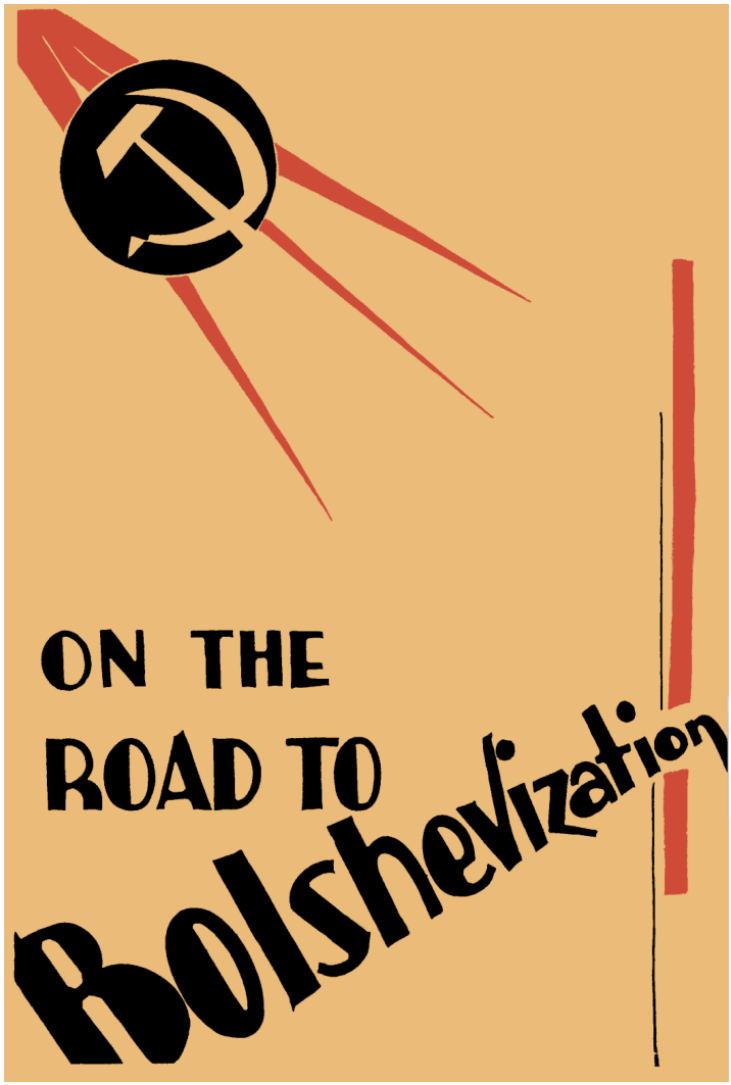
ON THE
ROAD TO
Bolshevization

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Part 1. *Introduction*

The ever sharpening class struggles and the feverish preparations of the American capitalists for war against the workers' Republic of Russia as well as for war against their imperialist rivals raise most difficult and most important problems before the American Communists. The substance of these problems is the mobilization of the American workers for the class war.

A Bolshevik Party must be organizationally and ideologically a monolithic party, hewn of one piece. Our American Party is not yet a Bolshevik Party. It is rent by a factional struggle of years' standing. This factionalism has weakened the power of resistance of the Party against opportunist influences. The problem of mobilizing the American workers for the class war, therefore, presented itself to our Party, before all, in the form of a problem of mobilizing its own forces.

It was necessary that factionalism should be eradicated in order to establish the indispensable organizational unity. It was necessary to combat all influences in the Party of petty-bourgeois ideology, to fight against all opportunist tendencies and all right deviations in order to insure the ideological unity of the Party.

In our American Communist Party, however, the opportunist influences had grown strong enough to put up resistance against the process of preparation. To break this resistance, the leadership of our International Party, the Communist International had to help.

This little booklet contains a collection of decisions of our International Leadership concerning the tasks and the problems of our Party. We Communists must study them carefully. In the application of these decisions lies our preparation for the tasks ahead of us. The accomplishment of these tasks is our revolutionary duty.

Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A.

Part 2. *Excerpts from Theses of Sixth World Congress*

After the first world imperialist war the international Labor movement passed through a series of historical phases of development, expressing various phases of the general crisis of the capitalist system.

The *first* period was the period of extremely acute crisis of the capitalist system, and of direct revolutionary action on the part of the proletariat. This period reached its apex of development in 1921, and culminated, on the one hand, with the victory of the U.S.S.R. over the forces of foreign intervention and internal counter-revolution and with the consolidation of the Communist International. On the other hand, it ended with a series of severe defeats for the Western European proletariat and the beginning of the general capitalist offensive. The final link in the chain of events in this period was the defeat of the German proletariat in 1923. This defeat marked the starting point of the *second* period, a period of gradual and partial stabilization of the capitalist system, of the restoration of capitalist economy, of the development and expansion of the capitalist offensive and of the continuation of the defensive battles fought by the proletarian army weakened by severe defeats. On the other hand, this was a period of rapid restoration in the U.S.S.R., of extremely important successes in the work of building up socialism, and also of the growth of the political influence of the Communist Parties over the broad masses of the proletariat. Finally came the *third* period, which, in the main, is the period in which capitalist economy is exceeding the pre-war level, and in which the economy of the U.S.S.R. is also almost simultaneously exceeding the pre-war level (the beginning of the so-called "reconstruction period," the further growth of the socialist forms of economy on the basis of a new technique). For the capitalist system this is the period of rapid development of technique and accelerated growth of cartels and trusts, and in which tendencies of development towards State capitalism are observed. At the same time, it is a period of intense development of the contradictions of world capitalism, operating in forms determined by the whole of the preceding process of the crisis of capitalism (contraction of markets, the U.S.S.R., colonial

movements, growth of the inherent contradictions of imperialism). This third period, in which the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces and the contraction of markets become particularly accentuated, is inevitably giving rise to a fresh series of imperialist wars: among the imperialist States themselves, wars of the imperialist States against the U.S. S.R., wars of national liberation against imperialism and imperialist intervention, and to gigantic class battles. The intensification of all *international antagonisms* (antagonisms between the capitalist States and the U.S.S.R., the military occupation of Northern China—which is the beginning of the partition of China—the mutual struggles between the imperialists, etc.), the intensification of the internal antagonisms in capitalist countries (the swing to the left of the masses of the working class, growing acuteness of the class struggle), and the wide development of *colonial movements* (China, India and Syria), which are taking place in this period, will inevitably lead—through the further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization—to capitalist stabilization becoming still more precarious and to the severe intensification of the general crisis of capitalism.

There is not the slightest doubt that considerable progress has been made in the technique of industry in a number of capitalist countries. In some countries (United States, Germany) it has assumed the character of a technical revolution. The gigantic growth in the employment of internal combustion engines, electrification, the development of the chemical industry, the new methods of producing synthetic fuels and raw materials (benzine, artificial silk, etc.), the employment of light metals and the extensive development of automobile transport on the one hand, and the new forms of organization of labor, which is linked up with the extraordinarily rapid development of the endless chain system on the other, have revived the productive forces of capitalism. On this basis foreign trade is expanding and the export of capital is increasing to an extraordinary degree. The relative importance of the latter form of economic intercourse between countries has grown considerably compared with pre-war times.

In the sphere of economics is observed an exceptionally rapid growth of capitalist monopoly (cartels, trusts and banking

consortiums) which are exercising increasing influence on agriculture. Simultaneously with the organization of capital in cartels and trusts on a "national" scale, there is an increase *in the growth of international finance capitalist combines*. At the same time a growth is observed in State capitalist tendencies, both in the form of State capitalism proper (State electrical stations, municipal industrial and transport enterprises), as well as in the form of the merging of private enterprises with the organs of the State.

Meanwhile the general crisis of capitalism is assuming new forms and is developing special and specific contradictions, which arise out of the radical structural changes that have taken place in the world economic system. The transference of the economic center of capitalism from Europe to America and the growing efforts of Europe, now recovered and trustified, to liberate herself from the economic domination of the United States; the development of capitalism in colonial and semi-colonial countries; the disproportion between the rate of growth of the economic and military power of certain countries and the dimensions of their colonial possessions; the danger threatening the positions of the imperialists in the colonies, primarily in China; the development of the U.S.S.R.—the counter-balance to the world capitalist system which revolutionizes the working class of all countries, and the toiling masses of the colonies—all these contradictions cannot but lead, in the final analysis, to another explosion.

The growing productive forces of capitalism come more and more into conflict with the restricted internal markets—which have contracted as a result of the state of ruin prevailing in a number of imperialist countries after the war, the growing pauperization of the peasant masses in the colonies—as well as with the structure of post-war world industry, the inherent contradictions of which have greatly increased and become more complicated as a result of the new, fundamental, antagonism that exists between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries. The disturbance of the equilibrium between America and Europe finds most striking expression in the so-called "German problem" and in the decline of British imperialism. Germany, having rapidly achieved a high level of development—thanks to a considerable degree to American capital—and compelled to pay reparations and interest on loans, cannot find

sufficient markets for the export of her commodities and the whole system of her relationships is maintained by means of repeated additions of American credits, which in their turn increase the competitive power of Germany in the world market.

The successes achieved in technique and organization have helped to create chronic mass unemployment in the leading industrial countries. The unemployed army of today far exceeds in numbers the industrial reserve army of pre-war times, and is not absorbed completely even in periods of boom. In the United States, for example, where the greatest successes have been achieved in technique, we have simultaneously with a powerful increase in production, a diminution in the amount of labor power employed by capital in industry. Even in those countries where great technical successes have been achieved, rationalization, which, while causing an enormous expansion of production, results in the intensification of labor to the utmost, to a murderous speeding up of labor and to an unparalleled exhaustion of human labor power. The mechanization of the labor process enables the capitalists to employ unskilled labor to a greater extent (woman and child-labor), and generally to substitute unskilled labor power for skilled labor power.

The attempts to alleviate these difficulties by forming European and international cartels merely reproduce on an expanded basis and in new forms (the introduction of the quota system, the struggle for enterprises not yet absorbed by cartels, etc.), the competitive struggle between Great Britain and the European Continental States, as well as on the Continent of Europe itself, which is politically and economically broken up into fragments and covered with a network of tariff barriers.

Under such conditions the problem of markets and spheres of investments becomes extraordinarily acute. Hence the maturing of a new series of gigantic military conflicts, of wars of intervention against the U.S.S.R., and the intervention now proceeding at full pace in China. Therefore, the development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization inevitably leads, in the final analysis, to the present "stabilization" period growing into a period of gigantic cataclysms.

The transference of the world's economic center to the United States of America and the increase in the latter's imperialist aggressiveness resulting from that, must be regarded as an important factor in the modern development of capitalism generally. As permanent creditor of Europe, the United States represents the lever of Central European revival; at the same time, however, she is strengthening her own position in almost all parts of the globe. As a result of the squeezing out of British capital, South America is gradually becoming an enormous "sphere of influence" of the United States, who suppresses all resistance on the American Continent with blood and iron (Nicaragua, etc.); Canada, and even Australia, are more and more gravitating towards so-called "economic co-operation," *in which the hegemony of the United States is assured beforehand*. All over the world the United States is developing extensive plans to secure possession of the most important sources of raw materials, to weaken Great Britain's position by destroying her monopoly in oil and rubber, and her raw cotton base in Egypt, the Sudan, etc. In Africa, the United States is developing extensive plans directed towards undermining the power of Great Britain in the cotton-growing industry; in China, in conflict with Japan and England, she holds the stronger position, and while screening herself for the time being behind the principle of the "open door," she is, in fact, taking part in the partition of China. Thus North American imperialism is more and more passing from the policy of so-called "peaceful penetration" to the policy of direct military, colonial occupation.

The rapid expansion of the United States inevitably brings her interests into conflict with the interests of decaying, but still extremely powerful, British imperialism. The antagonisms between the Dollar Republic, with her rapid rate of development and relatively small colonial possessions, and the declining British colonial Empire, with its gigantic colonial monopoly, represents the pivot of international antagonisms in the present period, and it is precisely here that the complications of future struggles for a redistribution of the colonial (and not only of the colonial) world are maturing, Anglo-American "co-operation" has changed into fierce Anglo-American rivalry, which widens the prospects of a gigantic conflict of forces.

In the great majority of capitalist countries at the present time the

politics of the bourgeoisie are determined by two main tasks: first, to further increase "competitive power," *i.e.* to further develop capitalist rationalization, and, second, to prepare for war. From the *social-class* standpoint bourgeois politics leads, on the one hand, to increased pressure upon the working class and to an increase in the rate of exploitation. On the other hand, they lead to the employment of "compensating" methods of economic and political corruption, the conscious vehicle of which social-democracy is more and more becoming.

The centralization of capital and the absorption, through the medium of the banking system, of large landed property into the general finance capitalist organizations, help more and more to consolidate the combined forces of the big exploiters, whose organizations are becoming directly grafted to the organs of State power. While the system known as *war* State capitalism, to a considerable degree, represented a system of "siege economics," which was "abolished" at the conclusion of the war, the growth of State capitalist tendencies on the other hand, which at the present time is based on the growth of productive forces and the rapid centralization of industry, is objectively a prerequisite for military economic mobilization for future conflicts. The shifting in the weight of the productive forces in the direction of the chemical industry, which is of first-class importance in modern warfare, still further enhances the significance of this fact.

This evolution in the relationships between the State power and private capitalist organizations, the concentration of all the bourgeois forces in the bourgeois State, gives rise in all capitalist countries to a reactionary evolution of the whole of the so-called "bourgeois State system." This evolution which is the characteristic expression of the present critical period of capitalism, finds expression politically in the general crisis of bourgeois democracy and of bourgeois parliamentarism, and leaves a specific impress upon all the economic conflicts between capital and labor, causing them to become extraordinarily acute.

Every strike of any magnitude brings the workers into conflict with trustified capitalist giants, which have become merged with the imperialist State power. Consequently, every strike assumes a

political, *i, e.*, a general, class character. The development of every such strike must, therefore, lead to its assuming an "anti-State character." It is precisely this state of affairs that compels the bourgeoisie and its State to resort to complex methods of economically and politically corrupting definite sections of the working class itself and its political and industrial organizations. The grafting of the upper stratum of the reformist trade unions and "reformist parties" on to the employers' organizations and the bourgeois State, the appointment of workers to official positions in the State and in capitalist organizations, the theory and practice of "industrial democracy," "industrial peace," etc.—all these are preventive measures directed against the development of the class struggle.

Simultaneously, the imperialist States more and more develop weapons and methods of repression against the revolutionary detachments of the proletariat and particularly against the Communist Party, the only Party that organizes and leads the revolutionary working-class struggle against imperialist wars and growing exploitation. These measures are also part and parcel of the war preparations of the imperialist States. At the same time, however, they reflect the general acuteness of class antagonisms and particularly the intensification of all forms and methods of the class struggle, as expressed in the increasing application of Fascist methods of oppression by the bourgeoisie. For that reason to bring the masses to a state of fighting preparedness and strenuous struggle against any attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie to repeat such attacks become immediate tasks.

Simultaneously, the resistance of the working class—which has already recovered from the severe defeats of the preceding period—is growing and assuming extremely diverse forms. The development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization, rationalization, growth of unemployment, the increasing pressure upon the standard of living of the working class, the ruination of the petty-bourgeoisie, etc., inevitably intensify the class struggle and widen its basis. The general process of the "working class swing to the left" in European countries continues further; the influence of purely bourgeois parties upon the mass of the workers wanes; a section of the workers abandon these to join the social-democrats, while

another section joins the Communist Parties. There is a quickening in the process of more militant elements of the working class abandoning the social-democrats and coming over to the Communist camp. Social-democracy is more and more relying upon the petty-bourgeoisie, and is therefore transferring its social basis from the working class to the petty-bourgeoisie. The influence and authority of the Communist Parties among the working class are growing.

The problem of combatting the approaching imperialist war, the defense of the U.S.S.R., the fight against the intervention in and the partition of China and the defense of the Chinese revolution and colonial uprisings, are the principal international tasks of the Communist movement at the present time. These tasks must be linked up with the everyday working-class struggle against the capitalist offensive and directed towards the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In regard to the *trade union movement*, the Congress resolutely calls upon all the parties to exert the maximum of effort on this sector of the front. The very fact that in a number of countries the reformists are forcing the expulsion of Communists (and of Leftists generally) from the trade union organizations makes it necessary for the fight for Communist influence in the trade unions to be carried on at the present time with greater energy than ever. Unless they strengthen their positions in the trade unions the Communists may become isolated from the mass of the industrially organized proletariat. For that reason the Communists, by every-day, devoted and patient work in the trade unions, must win for themselves among the broad masses of the trade unionists authority as experienced and capable organizers, who fight not only for the proletarian dictatorship, but for all the everyday partial demands of the masses of workers; they must win authority as leaders of well-conducted strike struggles.

The Communist Parties, the revolutionary trade union opposition and the revolutionary trade unions can win the leadership in these struggles only in intense struggle against the social-democratic and politically corrupt trade union bureaucracy. In order to achieve real success in winning over the masses special attention must be devoted to *the careful preparation of strikes* (mass work,

strengthening of trade union fractions, etc.), to the capable leadership of strikes (establishment of strike committees and utilization of factory councils), and explaining to the masses the political causes and conditions for the success or failure of every industrial conflict and strike.

Where a united front exists between the bourgeois State, the employers' organizations and the reformist trade union bureaucracy, jointly striving to suppress the strike movement by means of compulsory arbitration, the fundamental task is to stimulate the energy and the initiative of the masses and, if circumstances are favorable, to conduct the strike struggle even in opposition to the will of the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

While precaution should be taken against being provoked by the reformists into acts calculated to secure the expulsion of the Communists and to split the trade union movement, and while taking all measures to paralyze unexpected blows from the reformists, every effort must be made to combat tactics of capitulation (unity "at any price," abstaining from defending expelled comrades, failure to fight strenuously against compulsory arbitration, unreserved obedience to the bureaucratic trade union apparatus, toning down of criticism of the reformist leadership, etc.) To organize the unorganized, to win over the reformist trade unions, to organize the expelled where conditions are suitable (in countries where the trade union movement is split), to break away local organizations we have captured and get them to affiliate to revolutionary industrial organizations—these are the tasks of the day. Under no circumstances must the Communists lose the initiative in the struggle for national and international trade union unity. They must conduct a determined struggle against the splitting policy of the Amsterdam International and of its national sections. In view of the intensified struggle between Communism and reformism it is extremely important to develop the work of the Communist trade union fractions, of the trade union opposition and of the revolutionary trade unions, and to increase in every way the work and activities of the Red International of Labor Unions.

The Communist Parties must support the work of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and of the Latin-American Trade Union

Secretariat, in so far as the latter stand on the basis of the class struggle and conduct a revolutionary fight against imperialism for the independence of the colonies and semi-colonies.

The increasing repressions and growing acuteness of the class struggle, and particularly the prospects of war, impose upon the Communist Parties the task of discussing and drawing up plans for the timely establishment of an underground apparatus, which shall guarantee continuity of leadership in future battles, unity of the Communist line of policy and unity of Communist action.

The *Workers (Communist) Party of America* has displayed more lively activity and has taken advantage of the symptoms of crisis in American industry and the growth of unemployment (caused by the extremely rapid rise in the organic composition of capital and the development of the technique of production. A number of stubborn and fierce class battles (primarily the miners' strike) found in the Communist Party a stalwart leader. The campaign against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti was also conducted under the leadership of the Party, within which is observed a slackening of the long-standing fractional struggle. While recording successes, however, references must be made to a number of right mistakes committed in connection with the Socialist Party; to the fact that the Party has not with sufficient energy conducted work for the organization of the unorganized and for the organization of the Negro movement, and to the fact that it fails to carry on a sufficiently impressionable struggle against the predatory policy of the United States in Latin America. These mistakes, however, cannot be ascribed exclusively to the majority leadership.

On the question of organizing a Labor Party, the Congress resolved: that the Party concentrates on the work in the trade unions, on organizing the unorganized, etc., and in this way lay the basis for the practical realization of the slogan of a broad Labor Party, organized from below. The most important task confronting the Party is to put an end to the factional strife—which is not based on any serious differences on principles—and at the same time to increase the recruiting of workers into the Party and to give a definite stimulus to the promotion of workers to leading posts in the Party.

On the basis of the partial stabilization of capitalism, and directly owing to the influence of social-democracy, the principal line of deviation from the correct political position observed within the Communist Parties at the present time is towards the right. This manifests itself in survivals of "legalism," in an excessive obedience to the law, in "khvostism" in relation to the strike movement (dragging at the tail of the movement), in an incorrect attitude towards social-democracy (for example), the resistance that was offered to the decisions of the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in France), in inadequate reaction to international events, etc. In view of the existence of relatively strong Social-Democratic Parties, these right deviations are particularly dangerous and the fight against must be put into the forefront. This implies a systematic struggle against a conciliatory attitude towards Right-Wing tendencies within the Communist Parties. However, side by side with this there are "left" deviations, which find their expression in a tendency to reject the tactics of the united front and the failure to understand the enormous importance of trade union work, in a policy of revolutionary phrases, and in China, in putschist tendencies.

The Congress instructs all the Parties to combat these deviations and to combat them primarily by means of persuasion. The Congress places on record that the decisions of the Seventh Enlarged Plenum concerning the raising of the theoretical level of the membership and the promotion of new Party workers, etc., has not been carried out in a number of important countries. The Congress is of the opinion that in view of the extreme complexity of the international situation and the possibility of sharp changes in the historical situation, all measures must be taken to raise the theoretical lever of the Communist Parties generally, and of their principal cadres in particular. In view of the necessity to consolidate the central leadership of the Communist International, and to guarantee the closest contact with the Parties, the Congress resolves that authoritative representatives of the most important parties be appointed in the capacity of permanent workers in the leading organs of the Communist International.

The Congress instructs the E.C.C.I. to employ all measures necessary to preserve the unity of the Communist International and of its sections. Only on the basis of good team work and on the condition

that differences are removed, primarily by methods of internal Party democracy, will it be possible to overcome the enormous difficulties of the present time and to fulfil the great tasks of the immediate future.

The serious mistakes observed in the internal life of our Parties at the present time (the tendency towards bureaucracy, drop in Party membership in several countries, political inactivity of the subordinate organizations, etc.) can be overcome only by raising the level of political life in the Communist Parties in all their organizational links on the basis of wider internal democracy. This does not imply that discipline is to be relaxed; on the contrary, it implies the general tightening up of iron, internal discipline, the absolute subordination of the minor organizations, as well as all other Party organizations (parliamentary fractions, fractions in the trade unions, the press, etc.) to the leading Party centers and of all sections of the Comintern to the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The tightening up of proletarian discipline in the Parties; the consolidation of the Parties; the elimination of factional strife, etc., are an absolute condition for the victorious proletarian struggle against all the forces imperialism is mobilizing.

Part 3. *Open Letter from the Comintern to Sixth Convention of the C.P.U.S.A.*

Dear Comrades:

The VI Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America marks an important stage in the great change through which the Party is now going.

From a propagandist organization, uniting chiefly immigrant workers and having an insignificant influence among the native workers, the Workers (Communist) Party is now beginning to turn into a mass Party of political action guiding the political and economic actions of the most advanced and the most militant ranks of the American proletariat. The VI Congress of the Comintern emphasized in its resolutions this important new feature in the development of the Party, declaring that "a number of stubborn and fierce class battles (particularly the miners' strike) found in the Communist Party a stalwart leader."

Precisely in the period following the convention of 1927 the Party has been acting with increasing frequency as the stalwart leader of mass actions of the American proletariat and has increased its influence among the native workers. The furriers' and garment workers' strikes, the miners' strike, the textile workers' strike in New Bedford and Fall River and the silk strike in Paterson—such is the series of battles in which the Workers Party of America has for the first time appeared in the role of a Party of political action capable of linking up the economic struggles of the proletariat with its political aims.

The struggle for the organization of new unions which the Party had to carry on under circumstances of fierce terrorism on the part of the State apparatus, the murderous bands of powerful trusts, the yellow American Federation of Labor and the most stubborn resistance of the Socialist Party, is one of the best pages in the history of the work of the Party during the last year.

However, the Party is now just making its first steps on the new

path. It is now just on the threshold between the old and the new, it has not yet passed the turning point. It has as yet done little to shift its base from the immigrants to the native Americans employed in the basic industries. It has done still less in relation to the millions of the Negro proletariat.

Meanwhile, the conditions which will impose enormous tasks on the Workers Party of America and will compel it to take the lead in gigantic class conflicts, are developing ever more rapidly.

The aggressiveness of the United States in the struggle for markets and the most important sources of raw material throughout the world is growing swiftly. The election of Hoover as president means that American imperialism is resolutely embarking on a course which leads to colonial wars of occupation and to an extremely rapid accentuation of the struggle between the United States and its chief imperialist rival—Great Britain. American imperialism is striving for a monopolist position in world economy and politics and is becoming more and more involved in the universal crisis of capitalism and comes more and more into the orbit of the growing instability of world capitalism.

The striving towards domination in world politics drives American imperialism, on the one hand, towards brutal capitalist rationalization which throws considerable sections of the proletariat out of production, leads to an extreme overstrain of labor without corresponding compensation, to a colossal growth of unemployment (3—4 million) and to a general worsening of the conditions of the working class. On the other hand, it leads towards tremendous growth of armament which puts ever heavier burdens onto the shoulders of the toiling masses. All this and the menace of the terrific calamities of war creates a state of uncertainty and insecurity in the entire working class. It is on this basis that the tendency towards radicalization of the American working class is increasing; that its activities, its will to defend itself, which in some places transforms itself into a will to assume the offensive, is developing. This drift towards the Left does not develop evenly in all parts of the working class. It now embraces the unorganized workers, especially in those industries which have not reached their previous level after the depression of the first half of 1928.

The Workers (Communist) Party is obviously still unprepared for the great class conflicts which will inevitably arise on the basis of the sharpening class relations in the United States.

Its past still weighs upon its present. The relics of the previous period of its existence form the greatest obstacle in the path it has to travel before it successfully passes the turning point and develops *in the shortest possible time* from a numerically small propagandist organization into a mass political party of the American working class.

This, however, is the task which the whole objective situation in the United States, the entire post-war development of American imperialism places before the Party. This is the chief, fundamental and decisive task to which all other tasks must be entirely subordinated.

The Workers (Communist) Party of America has been for many years an organization of foreign workers not much connected with the political life of the country. Owing to this immigrant exclusiveness two leading groups arose, took shape and became consolidated within the Party. For six years an almost uninterrupted struggle for supremacy in the Party has been going on between them. The struggle was, in the main, not based on principle, and at times, it assumed an unprincipled character. At times it assumed the appearance of a struggle based on principle, but in reality it was not entirely a struggle of principle; principles served chiefly to camouflage the struggle for supremacy in the Party. Whenever the struggle between the groups was centered more on principles (the attitude towards the Labor Party, the question of trade union tactics), the differences could have been settled without a factional struggle.

The absence of substantial differences on points of principle between the combatant factions has been recorded many times by the E. C. C. I. as well as by the Party itself.

Thus, in 1925, all resolutions at the IV Convention of the Party were adopted by both factions *unanimously*, notwithstanding the acute factional struggle prior to the convention. But when the convention was over the factional struggle became even sharper

than before.

Further, the resolution of the presidium of the E. C. C. I. on the American question adopted on July 1st, 1927, states:

> "The objective difficulties, the weaknesses of the Workers (Communist) Party, and its inadequate contact with the masses of the native workers, are factors complicating the inner situation of the Workers (Communist) Party. An insufficiently strong Party life, as the result of an insufficient mass basis, the inadequate contact of many members of the former language groups with the specific problems of the class struggle in the United States favor the development of groups and factional struggles, the existence and intensity of which *we seek in vain to explain through serious differences of principle*."

No less indicative is also the fact that both groups adopted unanimously in February, 1928 extensive theses concerning all vital political problems of the United States, as well as the fact that both groups prior to the VI Congress committed in common Right Wing errors.

Finally, the VI Congress of the C. I. declared that the factional struggle of the Workers (Communist) Party of America "is not based on any serious differences of principle."

Nor can the E. C. C. I find such serious fundamental differences between the convention theses of the majority and the minority of the C. E. C. as to justify a struggle within the Party. The differences between the majority and minority of the C. E. C. do not go beyond those limits which would make it impossible to settle them without a factional struggle.

The majority has shown a tendency to underestimate the process of radicalization as well as the process of differentiation in the ranks of the working class, which finds its expression in the attempts to point out the conservatism of the American working class in a static form without giving a class analysis of the causes which underly its backwardness and without a sufficient consideration of the further prospects of development of its political consciousness.

The minority, on the other hand, overestimates the degree of radicalization of the American working class at the present time, interpreting the vote for Smith of a part of the workers during the presidential elections as a sign of the radicalization of the proletariat. This is wrong, just as is the reference to Lenin's letter of 1921 which refers to the Roosevelt vote, because Roosevelt was a candidate of a third party, something which did not exist in the last elections. Both the majority and the minority entirely underestimate the Leftward trend of the working class in the other capitalist countries. In the theses of both groups, there is no attempt to evaluate such important facts as the *Lodz strike* and the *Ruhr lockout*; they are not even mentioned.

In estimating the character of American *Trotskyism*, the majority does not draw in its theses a clear line of division between the out and out Right wing opportunist deviation and Trotskyism, which is opportunism disguised with Left phrases. The failure to understand this difference objectively leads to a weakening of the struggle against the main danger—the Right danger, as in reality, it limits the struggle to the task of the struggle against Trotskyism.

The minority, however, not only underestimates the Trotskyist danger, but, on the one hand says nothing in the theses about the fact that such extreme Right wingers as *Sulkanen* and *Askeli*, who do not even hide themselves behind Left phraseology, belong to the *Cannon group*, or that the latter has concluded a bloc with *Lore* and *Eastman*; and, on the other hand it states that Cannon has taken with him a number of workers from the Party, which objectively adds prestige to the Cannon group and weakens the struggle against American Trotskyism.

All the enumerated differences between the minority and majority could, if the factional struggle would cease, easily be overcome by means of self-criticism within the Party.

At the same time the majority and minority commit the same mistake in their view of the relations between the American and world economic systems, although expressed in different forms and both groups make different conclusions. This mistake lies in their wrong conception of the nature of the relationship between American and world economics and the underestimation of the

increasing involving of American imperialism in the rapidly sharpening general crisis of capitalism. Both sides are inclined to regard American imperialism as isolated from world capitalism, as independent from it and developing according to its own laws. Both sides do not take sufficiently into account that the approaching crisis of American imperialism is part and parcel of the general crisis of capitalism. Both sides believe that world economy plays in relation to American imperialism only or chiefly a subordinate and passive role of a market for the export of commodities and capital.

The failure to understand the close relations between American economy and the general crisis of capitalism leads the majority to a wrong estimation of the role of American capital in the stabilization of Europe, and to a misconception of the inevitable sharpening of the conflicts between the ever-more aggressive American imperialism and trustified Europe, which strives to free itself from the economic domination of the United States. It leads the minority to the conception that the coming crisis of American capitalism is called forth exclusively by its internal contradictions.

These mistakes reflect the failure to understand the fact that the roots of the contemporary general crisis of capitalism, side by side with the sharpening contradictions between the development of the productive forces and the contraction of markets, side by side with the existence and development of the U. S. S. R. as a factor which revolutionizes the working class of all countries and the toiling masses of the colonies, and stands opposed to the world capitalist system, there is also the unequal growth in the economic development of the various countries which has its expression in the transference of the economic center of capitalism from Europe to America and the rapid development of American imperialism which *surpasses the development* of the other capitalist countries.

The rapid development of American capitalism *does not exempt* the United States, or any other capitalist country, from the crisis; on the contrary, it *accentuates* the general crisis of capitalism as a result of the extreme sharpening of all contradictions which it leads to. On the other hand a sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism is to be expected not because American imperialism ceases to develop, but on the contrary, it is to be expected because American

imperialism is developing and surpasses the other capitalist countries in its development, which leads to an extreme accentuation of all antagonisms.

The failure to understand the nature of the general crisis of American capitalism inevitably leads to a distortion of the entire revolutionary perspective outlined in the decisions of the VI Congress in connection with the third period. To consider American capitalism isolated from the sharply accentuated general crisis of capitalism means to overlook the general revolutionary crisis of capitalism which includes the economic crises in all capitalist countries, the imperialist struggle against the U. S. S. R. and the rebelling colonies, the struggle among the imperialist countries themselves, as well as the class struggle of the proletariat in the various capitalist countries.

With regard to the *fundamental* question as the nature of the contemporary general crisis of capitalism, the perspective of its accentuation, the further shattering of stabilization throughout the entire world economic system, the question of struggle against the Right danger, which has of late become the chief and decisive issue in the Comintern, both the majority and the minority commit *big error*s which inevitably lead to a *profound under-rating of the revolutionary perspectives in Europe and especially in America*.

The majority entirely ignores in its theses the resolution of the VI Congress (the point referring to the third period of post-war development), and the minority, while quoting that point, was unable to link it up with its own conclusions concerning the American crisis. The VI Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America must decidedly rectify this mistake and pass resolutions on this most vital issue such as would be in full accord with the decisions of the VI Congress of the C. I. This mistake of the majority is closely related to its great overestimation of the economic might and the powerful technical development of the United States. It is wrong to speak of a second industrial revolution as is done in the majority theses.

> "A powerful technical revolution is taking place in the United States, a tremendous rationalization, an increase in the forces of production, which in its effects can be

compared to a second industrial revolution."

This is a serious error. On the one hand, the emphasis on the fact that the remnants of feudalism are being wiped out in the South of the United States (which is wrongly considered in the theses as its colony) and that a new bourgeoisie with a new proletariat are being formed, may give the term "second industrial revolution" the implication of a second bourgeois revolution. *On the other hand, if we were not to interpret the term of "second industrial revolution" in this sense*, it could not be explained in any other way but as an uncritical overestimation of the significance and results of the development of technique. Such overestimation would play into the hands of all advertisers of the successes of bourgeois science and technique who seek to deafen the proletariat by raising a lot of noise about technical progress and showing that there is no general crisis of capitalism, that capitalism is still vigorous in the United States, and that thanks to its extremely rapid development, it is capable of pulling Europe out of its crisis.

However, the development of the productive forces on the basis of the technical transformation and the new forms of organization of labor, leads to increasing antagonisms between them and the limited home markets and, consequently, to a further deepening and sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism and not a diminution or a liquidation of that crisis, as the apologists of American imperialism pretend.

The slightest concession to the noisy advertisers of the growth of technique, the slightest vacillation, is an intolerable opportunist mistake.

A no less important shortcoming both in the majority and minority is the underestimation of the effect of the technical development and rationalization on the working class. Not only the majority theses which overestimate the significance of the tremendous technical development, but also the minority theses leave this aspect of rationalization in the shade and pay little attention to it.

The fact is that the great intensification of labor arising from technical development and capitalist rationalization expressed in the speeding up of the conveyor and the movement of machinery,

in an extreme crowding of the working day, in a terrific speeding up of the workers by means of the bonus system which leads to the wearing out of the workers and their being thrown out of the factory sooner than was the case hitherto and, finally, the absolute diminution of the number of workers in some industries which gives rise to a tremendous growth of unemployment, are truly becoming the central problems of the entire American working class and thus acquiring the greatest political significance.

This *new* form of exploitation of the workers is based upon the increase of wages of a very small upper strata and upon the lowering of the standard of living, which was low enough hitherto, for the vast majority of the working class (notwithstanding the majority theses to the contrary).

The American proletariat does not feel so much the worsening of its position in any other respect as in the growing overstrain of labor, in the reduction of the period of the worker's stay in the factory, and in the growing unemployment.

Huge masses of American workers can be rallied to a struggle against the overstrain of labor and the monstrous growth of exploitation. The chief demands capable of uniting them in a common struggle are—(1) the 7-hour day and 6 hours for workers engaged in industries injurious to health and in underground work; (2) social insurance (in case of sickness, injury, invalidity, and unemployment) at the cost of the employers and the State.

Extensive and persevering agitation for these demands throughout the entire period should be the main task of the Party which must simultaneously proceed also with the organization of the unemployed. By fighting for this program, the Party can unite broad sections of the proletariat, educate them politically, strike deep roots in the midst of the American workers, and become a mass working class Party. The revolutionary unions, provided their organizations will be seriously prepared and their leaders carefully chosen, can be an extremely important lever in that work.

The struggle against the consequences of capitalist rationalization should be closely linked up with the struggle against the war danger. In this connection, the Party absolutely fails to see the

enormous importance of this task and its decisive political significance. This entails an underestimation of the revolutionary perspectives. There is no doubt that the objective situation as well as the first successes of the Party in leading mass conflicts provide a basis for a healthy discussion on points of principle within the Party. But the existence of two crystallized leading groups is a decisive obstacle to embarking on this course.

So long as these two groups exist in the Party, the possibility of an exchange of opinion on questions of principle within the Party, and hence the further healthy ideological development of the Party is entirely excluded.

To advance artificial differences of principle on questions concerning which no such differences exist would at the present time serve only and exclusively as a means of furthering the non-principled factional struggle.

The deep-rooted unprincipled methods of factional struggle are becoming a great obstacle in the struggle against all deviations from the correct political line and hindering the development of self-criticism or leading to its factional distortion.

However, the decisions of the VI Congress of the Comintern on the struggle against deviation from the correct political position is of special importance to the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

The ever-growing economic power and ever-increasing importance of American imperialism on the world arena, the specific method of economic and political oppression of the working class on the part of the bourgeoisie, who use the powerful apparatus of the A. F. of L. as an agency in the working class—all these conditions give rise to the most serious danger of the development of a strong Right wing tendency in the American Party. The fact that both factions were guilty of Right wing errors is most significant and amply confirms the existence of the danger of the development of a Right wing tendency in the American Party. The VI Congress has already pointed out in its resolutions a series of Right wing errors (the attitude towards the Socialist Party, inadequate work by the Party in organizing the unorganized and the struggle of the Negroes, the insufficiently clear struggles against the murderous policy of the

United States in Latin America), and recorded that "these mistakes cannot, however, be ascribed exclusively to the majority leadership." The mistakes committed since the VI Congress of the C. I. were also of a Right character.

The appearance of Trotskyism in the United States can be explained by the fact that the Trotskyist opportunist doctrines on the question of the Party and its structure, the basis of which lies the "principle" of unprincipled alliance with all and sundry Right and "Left" groups and organizations fighting against the Comintern, seems to fit perfectly into the scheme of political struggle in the United States where lack of principle was always the underlying principle in the activities of all bourgeois parties. Nowhere, in no other country in the world, have we witnessed so easy and rapid formation of a bloc of the Trotskyist and the out and out Right wingers as in the United States, thus revealing at the very outset its Social Democratic and anti-Comintern nature. The Right mistakes of the Party helped the growth of Trotskyism in the United States.

Notwithstanding the presence of certain temporary premises for Trotskyism in the United States, the Trotskyist bloc there also is doomed to collapse. The main condition for this is a correct political line of the Communist Party based on clear principles aiming at the elimination and correction of Right mistakes and a decisive fight against the Right danger in the ranks of the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

A successful struggle against both the out and out Right as well as against the "Left" Trotskyist deviations, has been hindered until now, mainly by the intolerant and unprincipled faction struggle between the two leading groups. Each faction speculates on the mistakes of the other concealing or underestimating meanwhile its own mistakes. Each faction hurls against the other accusations of alleged Right and "Left" mistakes. Actual and imaginary errors are exaggerated for factional purposes and deviations are manufactured out of them.

For factional consideration, the minority of the C. E. C. attacks the majority on some points more sharply than the Trotskyists who have been expelled from the Party. In its turn the majority, also for factional reasons, resorts to absolutely intolerable manoeuvres (the

invitation of the renegade Cannon to a meeting of the C. E. C., for example). Speculation on deviations (instead of combating them), and factional manufacturing of deviations, does not give the Party a chance to discover the real mistakes and to establish the actual dimensions and the actual sources of the Right (and also the "Left") danger.

The struggle against the Right and "Left" dangers has to contend with factionalism in the Workers (Communist) Party of America and cannot be developed in a truly Bolshevik manner until this main hindrance is eliminated.

The C.I. several times requested the Party in the most decisive manner to put an end to the factional struggle. The VI Plenum of the E.C.C.I. demanded from the Party a "complete and unconditional cessation of the factional struggle." The American Commission during the VIII Plenum confirmed that decision. The Polit. Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. declared in April, 1928 that: "it is the opinion of the E.C.C.I. that the *main* problem of the Party in the field of organization is to kill all remnants of factionalism." Finally, the VI Congress decided that: the *most important task* confronting the Party is to *put an end to the factional strife*, which is not based on any serious differences, and at the same time, to increase the recruiting of workers into the Party and to give a definite stimulus to the promotion of workers to leading Party posts."

The existing factions must be resolutely and definitely liquidated. The factional struggle must be unconditionally stopped. Without this *no mass Communist Party of the American proletariat can be organized*.

This is the most urgent task of the Party. The VI Convention of the Workers Party must categorically prohibit any further factional struggle, under threat of expulsion from the Party, and lay the foundation of a normal Party life, especially internal democracy, self-criticism and iron Party discipline, based on the unconditional subordination of the minority to the majority and an unconditional recognition of the decisions of the Comintern.

All Party members must unite their efforts for the speediest carrying out of this most urgent task.

The *Young Workers League* must not be led by any of the factional groups in the Party, its members must fight on the basis of the decisions of the Comintern and the Communist Youth International for the liquidation of factionalism and factional groupings both in the League and in the Party.

The fact that the Party has increased last year the number of its members employed in big factories by 14 per cent, the fact that it has already come out as a staunch leader in stubborn class wars, the fact that its influence among the native workers has increased and improved, all this shows that the Party has already matured for transformation into a mass organization. But the fact that the Party could not get more than 50,000 votes in the elections shows that its ties with the American proletariat is still weak.

The Party can become a mass proletarian Party only on condition that *it widens its base by creating its main strongholds in the ranks of the American workers, especially in the most important branches of industry, and also among the Negro workers, while at the same time retaining its positions among the revolutionary immigrant workers*.

This course on the American workers and the decisive branches of industry must run through all activities of the Party and must be laid down as the foundation of the organization of the unorganized, the creation of new unions, the organization of the Left wing in the old unions, "laying thereby the basis for the actual realization of the slogan of creation of a wide Workers' Party from below." (Resolution of the VI Congress of the C. I.)

Four principal conditions are now essential in order that the Party may definitely enter the path leading to its transformation into a mass Communist Party, four conditions, the *decisive significance* of which neither the majority, which is responsible for the leadership, nor the minority have understood. These conditions are:

1. A correct perspective in the analysis of the general crisis of capitalism and American imperialism which is a part of it.
2. To place in the center of the work of the Party the daily needs of the American working class and especially (a) the demand for a 7-hour day and 6 hours for underground workers and those engaged in injurious trades, while exposing and waging

a systematic struggle against the capitalist methods of rationalization directed towards intensifying the exploitation of the workers; (b) the demand for all forms of social insurance at the cost of the employers and the State.

3. Freeing the Party from its immigrant narrowness and seclusion and making the American workers its wide basis, paying due attention to work among the Negroes.
4. Liquidation of factionalism and drawing workers into the leadership.

The E. C. C. I. calls upon the VI Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America to carry out these decisive tasks.

With Communist Greetings,

Eexecutive Committee of the Communist International

Part 4. To All Members of the Communist Party of the United States: *An Address by the Executive Committee of the Communist International*

Dear Comrades:

The Executive Committee of the Communist International together with the delegation of the Sixth Convention of the Communist Party of the United States, has very carefully discussed the situation in the American Communist Party. Having given to all the delegates the fullest opportunity for expressing their views and for making proposals, having carefully examined all the material presented, and having considered the question from all aspects, the Executive Committee of the Communist International deems it necessary to place in all seriousness the situation within the Party before all members of the Communist Party of the United States.

The Open Letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Sixth Convention of the American Communist Party, which placed before it the fundamental tasks arising in connection with the accentuation of the inner and outer contradictions of American imperialism in the present period, pointed out the necessity of the Party converting itself as soon as possible from a numerically small propagandistic organization into a mass political party of the working class, which particularly at the present juncture is indissolubly connected with the intensification of the struggle against the right danger. This Open Letter declared categorically that the fundamental prerequisite for a successful carrying out of these tasks is the cessation of the unprincipled struggle of many years standing.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is compelled to record that at the Convention itself and after it, not only was there no appreciable result achieved in the matter of doing away with factionalism, but on the contrary, the factional struggle has become still more accentuated.

Due to the unprincipled factional struggle, the Sixth Convention of the American Communist Party had failed to produce the results

which it should have produced in regard to bolshevization and to the establishment of a healthier condition within the American Communist Party. Many of the most important political questions and tasks confronting the Party were not discussed at the Convention. The errors of the Majority and of the Minority of the Party were not explained at the Convention as they should have been as a matter of Bolshevik self-criticism. The Party was not mobilized for the struggle against the right danger. No consolidation of all the forces of the Party for struggle against factionalism was secured at the Convention. On the contrary, this Convention, which was composed of the best proletarian elements of the American Communist Party, who uphold the line of the Comintern, became the arena for unprincipled manoeuvers on the part of the top leaders of the Majority, as well as on the part of the leaders of the Minority. The Convention was forced off the line proposed by the Comintern and was mobilized for purposes of further factional struggle of both groups.

A gross distortion of the line of the Comintern was the theory inoculated into the Convention alleging that the organizational proposals of the Executive Committee of the Communist International are in contradiction to its political letter, instead of being a necessary guarantee for the carrying out of the line of the Open Letter in the American Communist Party. A clearly factional distortion of the meaning of the organizational proposals of the Executive Committee of the Communist International were also the efforts to interpret them as a handing over the leadership of the Party to the Minority, which was not and is not intended by the Comintern, since the fundamental task of the Open Letter and organizational proposals of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Sixth Convention was the consolidation of the Party on the basis of the line of the Comintern, in the direction of the struggle against the factionalism of both groups. The Minority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States endeavored to make the Open Letter and organizational proposals of the Executive Committee of the Communist International an instrument in getting the leadership of the Party into its own hands. The Executive Committee of the Communist International condemns these attempts of the Minority which show that it has factionally distorted the meaning of the

Open Letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and its organizational proposals and that certain leaders of the Minority have shown themselves unfit to play the role of a uniting factor in the struggle of the Party against factionalism, in conformity with the directions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

It is the factional leaders of the Majority, with Comrade Lovestone at the head, that are mainly responsible for making use of the Convention for factional purposes, for misleading honest proletarian Party members who uphold the line of the Comintern, for playing an unprincipled game with the question of struggle against the Right danger in the Comintern and in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for the inadmissable personal hounding of the delegation of the Comintern at the Convention; for the organization of caucus meetings of delegates of the Majority, in direct contradiction with the Open Letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and in spite of the verbal acceptance of that letter; for hounding those comrades who departed from the Majority faction and unconditionally accepted the line of the Executive Committee of the Communist International; for the campaign against certain responsible comrades of the Minority who are carrying out the line of the Executive Committee of the Communist International,—for all these methods and intrigues which cannot be tolerated in any section of the Comintern, and which clearly bear the imprint of petty bourgeois politiciandom.

Both factions of the American Communist Party have been guilty of right errors. Both factions show serious deviations to the right from the general line of the Comintern, which creates the danger of an openly opportunists right deviation crystallizing within the Party.

Since the Sixth Congress of the Communist International the Majority of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party has been committing a series of gross right errors pointed out in the Open Letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. These errors found their expression in overestimating American imperialism and in putting the question of inner and outer contradictions in a wrong way, which led to the obscuring of inner contradictions of American capitalism; in underestimating the

swing to the left of the American working class; in underestimating American reformism which led to weakening the struggle against it; in underestimating the right danger in the American Communist Party; in substituting in place of the question of the right opportunist danger only the question of Trotskyism, i. e. of dealing with the question in a manner which led to the obscuring of the right danger.

The Minority of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party was committing in regard to questions dealing with the crisis of American capitalism and the swing of the masses to the left, "left," but in reality right opportunist errors; it dissociated the development of the inner contradictions of American capitalism from its external contradictions and from the general crisis of world capitalism, and, in regard to the question of struggle against the war danger, it was sliding down to petty bourgeois pacifist slogans ("no new cruisers"—Comrade Bittelman). The Minority of the Central Committee was unable to dissociate itself at the right time from Trotskyism and did not properly struggle against it. The ideological lever of right errors in the American Communist Party was the so-called theory of "exceptionalism," which found its clearest exponents in the persons of Comrades Pepper and Lovestone whose conception was as follows: a crisis of capitalism, but not of American capitalism; a swing of the masses to the left, but not in America; the necessity of accentuating the struggle against reformism, but not in the United States; a necessity for struggling against the right danger, but not in the American Communist Party. And yet, the present period, when the process of shaking the foundation of capitalist stabilization is going on, signifies for the United States that it is being ever more closely involved in the general crisis of capitalism. In America, too, the fundamental contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces and the lagging behind of the markets—is becoming more accentuated. The bourgeoisie is increasing its efforts to find a way out of the growing crisis by means of rationalization, i. e. by increased exploitation of the working class. The internal class contradictions are growing; the struggle for markets and spheres for the investment of capital against the other imperialist states is becoming more accentuated; there is a feverish growth of armaments; and the war danger is

getting nearer and nearer. With a distinctness unprecedented in history, American capitalism is exhibiting now the effects of the inexorable laws of capitalist development, the laws of decline and downfall of capitalist society. The general crisis of capitalism is growing more rapidly than it may seem at first glance. The crisis will shake also the foundation of the power of American imperialism.

Under these conditions the theory of "exceptionalism" is a reflection of the pressure of American capitalism and reformism which are endeavoring to create among the mass of workers an impression of absolute firmness and "exceptional" imperialist might of American capital in spite of its growing crisis and to strengthen the tactic of class collaboration in spite of the accentuation of class contradictions. The Executive Committee of the Communist International points out that not only the mistakes of the Majority but also the most important mistakes of the Minority were based on the conception of American "exceptionalism."

While it records the political mistakes of both groups, as well as the growth of the right danger in the American Communist Party, the Executive Committee of the Communist International regards as a factional exaggeration the claim, alleging that the group of the Majority as a whole is the bearer of the right tendency as well as the claim alleging that the Minority group represents the Trotskyist deviation. There are in the ranks of both groups elements with strong right tendencies which either show themselves openly, or are masked by "left" phraseology. Neither of the two groups has carried on a proper struggle against these right tendencies 'in the ranks of its own faction, and the factionalism of both groups has been a great impediment to the development within the Party of the necessary self-criticism and to the political educational of the Party members in the spirit of Bolshevik steadfastness based on principle.

A factional lack of principle which is also an expression of opportunism, finds its expression in the fact that both groups were putting the interests of their faction above the interests of the Party. On the strength of this, the American Communist Party is confronted now in all sharpness with the question of the danger of the political disintegration of the present leading cadres which

threatens to undermine the whole work of the Party.

A characteristic manifestation of the rotten factional diplomacy in regards to the Communist International, is the attitude of the Majority of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party on the question of Comrade Pepper's conduct. In spite of the repeated decisions of the Comintern on the removal from work in the American Communist Party of Comrade Pepper, who repeatedly exhibited opportunistic tendencies, the Majority of the Central Committee violated these decisions of the Comintern, shielding the political errors and gross breaches of discipline, which were being committed by Comrade Pepper. The inconsistency and lack of principle in the attitude of the leaders of the Majority of the Central Committee in regard to Comrade Pepper found vivid expression in the fact that the Central Committee of the American Communist Party expelled him from the Party, pointing out that "the political platform of Comrade Pepper is no doubt the real cause of his cowardly disinclination to do his duty and to go and place himself at the disposal of the Comintern" (decision of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party approved by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee), whereas a few days later in spite of the political characteristics given to Comrade Pepper the Central Committee reinstated him in the ranks of the Party. The Majority, as well as the Minority of the Central Committee was engaged in an inadmissible, unprincipled speculation with questions of the situation in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the Comintern. If the Minority speculated on the version, as if it were the only group in the American Communist Party sharing the attitude of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in its struggle against right deviations, the Majority, making use of methods of a rotten diplomacy, went to the length of unprincipled manoeuvering in regard to this question. This has found expression in the adoption by the Convention, at the initiative of Comrades Lovestone and Gitlow and without the least attempt of informing the delegates of the Convention about the situation in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of a resolution, which proposed organizational measures in the struggle against the right deviation. And subsequently, on arrival in Moscow, the delegation of the majority, in the person of Comrade Gitlow made a declaration which practically disavows this

resolution and upholds the slanderous attacks of the right elements on the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Comintern.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern draws special attention to the attacks entirely unworthy of a Communist, which during the Convention, Comrade Lovestone permitted himself to make on the leadership of the Comintern (Comrade Lovestone's reference to "the running sore" in the apparatus of the Executive Committee of the Communist International). The Executive Committee of the Communist International emphasizes, that these attacks of Comrade Lovestone represent a repetition of slanderous attacks upon the Comintern made by the right opportunists.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International draws special attention to the declaration of May 9th, in which Comrades Bedacht, Lovestone and others tried to discredit beforehand the decision of the Comintern by stating that "the Executive Committee of the Communist International wants to destroy the Central Committee and is therefore following a policy of legalizing the former factionalism of the opposition bloc and is recommending to carry it on also in the future."

The Executive Committee of the Communist International holds that this most factional and entirely impermissible anti-Party declaration of Comrades Bedacht, Lovestone and others, represents a direct attempt at preparing conditions necessary for paralyzing the decisions of the Comintern and for the split in the Communist Party of America. The same manifest determination to oppose their faction to the Comintern found expression also in the second statement of May 14th, submitted by the delegation from the Convention only in more diplomatic form. The assertion of the leaders of the Majority faction concerning their "loyalty" to the Comintern, contained in that statement, was clearly exposed at the very session of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, at which the statement was reported, by the refusal of the majority of the signers unconditionally to carry into effect the decisions contained in this letter. The Executive Committee of the Communist International declares, that in case the authors of the declaration refuse to unconditionally submit to the

decisions of the Comintern and to actively put them into practice, the Executive Committee of the Communist International will be forced to adopt all measures necessary to put a stop to all attempts at splitting the Party, to secure unity in the ranks of the Communist Party of America and to realize the decisions adopted by the Comintern.

In the course of years the Executive Committee of the Communist International had repeatedly demanded the liquidation of factionalism in the Communist Party of America. Thus, for example, in the resolution of the Fifth enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in 1925, it is stated: "The Executive Committee holds firmly to the opinion that factional struggle between the two groups must absolutely cease."

In a resolution of the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International of 1926 on the American question, among other things it is stated: "To enable the American Communist Party to fulfill its historic mission, the first prerequisite is complete and unconditional termination of the factional fight within the Communist Party, not in words, but in deeds."

In its resolution of July 1st, 1927, the Executive Committee of the Communist International again reminded the Party that "this demand was not being carried out seriously enough" and that there is still in the Party "an impermissible situation of faction formation," which may lead to "a crisis in the Party."

The Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in 1928, while mentioning in its political theses that in the Party there is to be "observed a slackening of the long standing factional struggle," nevertheless found sufficient ground for deciding that "the most important task confronting the Party is to put an end to factional strife—which is not based on any serious controversies on points of principle."

Finally, the Executive Committee of the Communist International, with the object of carrying out the decisions of the World Congress, and in view of the fact that the inner-Party situation in the United States became anew accentuated, had addressed an open letter to

the American Party in December, 1928, and demanded from the Convention, then pending, that it begin at last really to carry out the decisions of the Comintern concerning the liquidation of factionalism.

All of this was absolutely of no avail so far. The leaders of the Majority as well as the leaders of the Minority of the Central Committee, who repeatedly gave their verbal pledges to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, that they will carry out the decisions of the Comintern, have systematically violated the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and their own pledges. Therefore, the Executive Committee of the Comintern, approving in the main the work of the Executive Committee of the Communist International delegation to the Sixth Convention of the American Communist Party, resolves to adopt the following measures:

1. To place the Majority as well as the Minority of the Central Committee under the obligation of dissolving immediately the factions and of ceasing all factional work. To call upon all the organizations of the American Communist Party to secure the putting into practice of this instruction, not shrinking from the applications in regard to the factionalists of the most severe disciplinary measure, clear up to expulsion from the Party.
2. Comrades Lovestone and Bittelman, as extreme factionalists of the Majority and Minority, to be removed for a time from work in the American Communist Party.
3. To reject the demand of the Minority of the Central Committee in regard to the calling of a special Convention.
4. To recognize as necessary the reorganization and extension of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, on a basis of securing real collective, non-factional activity, and to render to the Central Committee every possible help in the matter of putting an end to all factionalism in the Party.
5. To turn over Comrade Pepper's case to the International Control Commission for consideration.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International calls upon all the members of the Party to get together for the struggle

against unprincipled factionalism in the Party, to be able to carry on the struggle against the right danger; for the healing and bolshevization of the American Communist Party, for a genuine carrying out of inner-Party democracy and proletarian self-criticism. With these objects in view the Party must initiate on a large scale a discussion of questions concerning the situation within the Party and of the political tasks confronting the Party. It is necessary to carry on in all the Party and young Communist organizations a thorough enlightenment campaign concerning the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, the Open Letter of the E.C.C.I. to the Sixth Convention of the Communist Party of America, and concerning the present address of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In the course of this enlightenment campaign, while waging a struggle against all opportunists who want to fight the Comintern, while uniting in that struggle all honest and disciplined comrades who are loyal to the Communist movement, the Communist Party must concentrate its attention on the most important questions of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in America—on the question of unemployment, struggle for social insurance, wages, working hours, work in the existing trade unions, work for the organization of new unions, struggle against reformism and struggle against the war danger. The Communist Party of the United States must strengthen its work in regard to recruiting and retaining in its ranks the new cadres of workers that are joining the Party, especially of the working youth. It must widen its agitational and organizational work in the big plants, in the main branches of industry and among the Negroes, and must secure for the Party an independent leading role in the industrial struggles of the working class that are developing, organizing in the process of the struggle the unorganized workers.

It is only by relentless struggle against the unprincipled factionalism, which is eating into the vitals of the Party, only by consolidating the whole Party for the carrying out its fundamental practical tasks on the basis of the line of the Comintern and by more energetic struggle against the right danger, that the American Communist Party will become a genuine Bolshevik vanguard of the American proletariat and will be converted into a mass political Party of the American workers in the ranks of which inner-Party democracy is being actually unfolded while at the same time an

iron proletarian discipline is strengthened, to which all organizations and each individual member, unconditionally submits; in the ranks of which is practised the submission of the Minority to the Majority, on the basis of the Party's perusal of the line and practical directions of the Comintern. Such a Party will be capable to lead the American proletariat to victorious struggle against capitalism.

With Communist Greetings,

Executive Committee of the Communist International

Part 5. *Decision of Central Committee of C.P.U.S.A.*

1. The Central Committee accepts and endorses the Address to the American Party membership by the Executive Committee of the Communist International and undertakes to win the entire Party membership for the support of the Comintern Address.
2. The Central Committee pledges itself unconditionally to carry into effect the decisions contained in this Address.
3. The Central Committee pledges itself and its members to defend the Address of the Comintern before the membership against any ideological or other opposition to the Address.
4. The Central Committee calls upon the members of the delegation in Moscow to withdraw all opposition to the Address and to the decisions contained therein and to do all in their power to assist the Comintern and the Central Committee of the American Party to unify the Party in support of these decisions.
5. The Central Committee instructs the Secretariat to proceed immediately, in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Communist International, to take all measures necessary to put into application the decisions and to realize the objectives of the Comintern as expressed in the Address.
6. The Central Committee approves all decisions of the Secretariat of the same date, accepting and ordering immediate publication in the entire Party press of the Address of the E.C.C.I. to the American Party membership, and instructs the Secretariat to put these decisions into effect immediately.

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